



**MR. COBBETT'S
SPEECHES AT PRESTON,**

[From the *Morning Herald*, June 3.]

Preston, June 1.

THE hopes or apprehensions entertained of a fourth being added to the number of candidates for this borough, are now at an end. The absence of a "Tory" candidate, as it is called, will have a considerable effect in the event of the election, for the Catholics may now exercise the franchise by connivance, a Tory candidate being the only person that could have an interest in excluding their votes. It is the most singular thing in the world, to the apprehensions of many here, how it is that the foremost of the volunteers

who were provoking Mr. Horrocks to a contest on this occasion is a Catholic gentleman of the profession of the law. However, Mr. Horrocks does not stand, and the battle is to be between Mr. Cobbett and Mr. Wood. The latter is now here assisted in his plans by Dr. Crompton, of Liverpool, worthy of being remembered as one of the favourite subjects of Mr. Canning's entertaining dissections on the hustings at Liverpool. Mr. Cobbett commenced yesterday a laborious canvass, and intends to keep it up with activity.

About eight o'clock a multitude about equal to that of any former evening, quite as orderly, and as much determined to hear quietly, presented themselves be-

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[ENTERED AT STATIONERS' HALL.]

fore the window of the Castle Inn, when

Mr. COBBETT addressed them as follows:—"Gentlemen, very few circumstances in my life have given me more pleasure than those circumstances which attended my entrance into this town last Monday. But, Gentlemen, sorry am I to hear that there have taken place, connected with that entrance, certain circumstances that are well calculated to give all men pain, and particularly to give me pain, who am unfortunately, but very innocently the cause of the trespasses being committed by those thoughtless boys. Before we proceed to the immediate subject on which I intend to address you this evening, allow me to say a word or two respecting those trespasses, which, I understand, have given offence to some gentlemen. It is very far, indeed, from me to give encouragement to encroachment on the property of any man. The rich man has a right to have his property protected as well as the poor man to have the fruits of his industry protected. To secure to both the quiet enjoyment of that which is lawfully in their possession, has been the object of my writings during my life. I cannot justify the conduct of those boys.

I do not want to justify that conduct. But I only hope that those gentlemen who have been offended on this occasion, will please to remember two things—and that remembering them, they will allow such an impression to be made on their minds as will induce them to be lenient to those boys. The first thing, Gentlemen (I mean you in particular, fathers and mothers, who hear me) is, that we were most of us once boys ourselves, and recollect that when we were boys we were not too discreet; we never consulted the law—indeed, we did not, and could not understand the law. The next thing to remember is, that Monday was the 29th of May—a day which from time immemorial—from a time far beyond that which any of us can remember—in short, from the time when the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of England took place, was observed, not only as a holiday by the Church, not only as a day proper to be set apart for prayer and thanksgiving, but it has been the practice—a practice especially encouraged by all the rich and all the loyal parts of the community, for people to put boughs of oak into their hats, to exhibit those boughs, to shew them about—and it was done on

this account, because that King Charles, in his younger days, after his family had been banished from the country, being pursued by his enemies, was protected by the oak. Those branches of the oak sheltered him from rebellious hands — hands that are so obnoxious to loyal hearts. Therefore, as those gentlemen who have been offended, and so justly offended by the acts of those boys, are I dare say loyal, I trust that they will also be merciful, and recollect that it has been always the policy of the rich and the loyal to encourage boys—for boys have been at all times the foremost at every thing of that sort, to gather boughs of oak on this day, and when not of oak, boughs of any other description. Now, Gentlemen, I am not one that is likely to think slightly of trespasses committed on trees. Having a tree grow up for one, is like having a child born, and one is almost as fond of the tree as he is of the child, as I know by experience; for I think I am. I have raised millions of trees myself. I am fonder of the employment of planting than I am of any other employment in the world; but yet disposed to be angry as I should be — passionate as I should be on such an occasion,

when I took all circumstances into consideration, and particularly when I recollected that to the loyal motive which they had in gathering those boughs, the boys added the patriotic motive also of assisting in the return to Parliament of that man who could best procure for their country the recovery of its liberty and its happiness—I say, when I considered all these things, I do not think I should be so angry, or visit the delinquents with so severe a punishment. I trust then that sentiments such as I have expressed will be entertained by the gentlemen who have been offended—so justly offended. I hope that what I have said will have no little weight in inducing them to act as it has been their honour to act generally, but not in all instances, when other Magistrates of Lancashire, and of Cheshire, too, were remarkable for any thing rather than the mildness which characterized those of Preston. Preston! It is called Preston the proud—proud Preston! It has a great number of things to be proud of—the beauty of its situation—the beauty—I don't want to palaver—but really the beauty of the women! —(Loud laughter and applause.) —Every thing about it—wood,

water, hill and dale—every thing, the exterior all so beautiful; and then the conduct of its people—a people who have had now so long a time something very near Universal Suffrage. Gentlemen, this is a remarkable fact, that Preston has been singularly happy in being exempted from a great deal of those acts, not of tyranny exactly, but something approaching to it; from those contests, that violence and strife, which have afflicted and affrighted the regions about it. Preston has been long, but particularly from the year 1817 to the present time, a second Goshen—and amidst the violences, the strife of the something little short of bloodshed in many places, and the real bloodshed in other places, peace has been enjoyed in this favoured district. Therefore, Gentlemen, if for no other reason than this, Preston ought to be proud. I trust that nothing will happen on this occasion to diminish its claims to the character I have assigned to it. I hope the town will always have reason to be proud. It shall be my care, if you do me the honour of choosing me for your representative, not to do any act or suffer any word to escape me—not to be guilty of any sin, either of omission or commission, after

my name shall have once become connected with the celebrated and happy Preston, which shall have the effect of diminishing its claims to that title which it has so long and so justly enjoyed. Gentlemen, as to the result of my canvass this day, I can only say that if the rest of the town be in the same mind with respect to me as that part which I canvassed to-day, I should have no occasion to canvass any more.—(Cheers, and a laugh.) But though it should be utterly unnecessary to canvass any more—though this moment one of the other candidates should signify his intention of retiring and leaving me to get in without any further trouble, yet I would, and I will go to every single house, and shake every man and woman in it, if possible, by the hand. As to the result then, Gentlemen, I repeat that I should have no occasion to canvass at all, if the remainder of the borough were as favourable to me as that through which I canvassed to-day. Something, however, presented itself to me in the course of that canvass which affected me very much indeed. Several of the electors told me they were disqualified from voting. And why? Because they had received parish relief. Gentlemen,

that is a most affecting and important matter for our consideration; it opens a wide field of discussion, which, if duly treated, he closet of day-light would not see the end of. The subject, however, calls for some few observations at this moment. There was a time—there was a time, and for many centuries did that time last, when happy England knew not even the name of pauper. It was unknown in this country. I trust that you will live, most of you, to see that time again. Gentlemen, please to attend to what the law is on this subject. The description of this law I take from Blackstone, who tells you that it is a law founded on the principle of civil society. I have not the book by me, but I think I can state his very words, for they are so impressive that there is no difficulty in recollecting them. He is treating of the law regarding life—the protection of life and limb. “The law of England,” he says, “is not only attentive to the lives of men, to the limbs of men; not only does it take care that an Englishman shall not suffer in life or member, but it provides that he shall not suffer from hunger or from want. Every Englishman has a right to obtain necessaries, to receive a sufficiency to sustain

life, to have all that is needful to his support, and the same law extends to his wife and family of course, for they are a part of himself.” An Englishman, therefore, who is in a situation to require it, has the right, and, bear in mind, the right to come to the property of the rich, and to receive adequate sustenance out of it. Now look at this picture. Having this right, if he exercises it, then say they, according to the Common Law (which I deny, by the by), if he receives parish relief, that is, if he exercises one right given to him by the law, he cannot vote, that is to say, he cannot enjoy another right given to him by the law. So that to-day you have the right to vote for a Representative in Parliament; but if to-morrow you exercise another right, the right of receiving parish relief, then the right of to-day is gone.—(Loud cheering.) Gentlemen, if this was never put in the same way that I now put it to you before, so far as I know, do you think, if the question were put in this way to Blackstone himself, were he to rise from his grave for the purpose, and I have a great respect for his memory—or if it was put to the Twelve Judges—can a man, because he is in the

exercise of one right, be, for that reason, robbed of the enjoyment of another, that they would say he can? I am sure not. But however this be, the melancholy fact is, that there should be any paupers in England at all. What is the cause of it? I saw a man to-day of this class, with his wife and six children. If that poor man only had all the money which he had paid in taxes on tea, sugar, beer, and the hundred articles of his consumption, he would not, depend on it, want parish relief, at all events—(a laugh)—it would not be necessary for him to forfeit the right he has to vote at elections. Gentlemen, mark this—we send to Hanover every year the sum of one hundred and eleven thousand pounds, to pay Hanoverian soldiers—in pay and pensions for themselves and their wives—and we pay this sum now, because these Hanoverian soldiers were over here during the last war. What were they here for? Could not Englishmen take care of themselves? Did they want German nurses to look after them?—(A laugh.) Oh no. Then, Gentlemen, if you had less taxes to pay—if, as was once the case, you had hardly any taxes to pay—if you had not to pay an annual sum like this

for Hanoverian soldiers which, for ought I know, will be entailed on your grandchildren—then, how much better would be your situation?—not yours alone, but that of every other class; the men of property, for it is for their interest that I would exert myself, as well as for that of the poorer class. I am not, as I am sometimes accused of doing, seeking exclusively for the advantage of the latter class. I am no mob-orator, as I am called sometimes. I would consult the safety of the man of property as I would do it for the poor man; and if I have shown more anxiety about the condition of the latter, it was upon the principle, as the Scotchman says, that if you mind the pence and half-pence, the shillings and sixpences will take care of themselves.—(A laugh, and applause.) This is the reason why I have been more careful of the labouring class at all times. Gentlemen, in the conclusion of a little book which I wrote, the English Grammar, a work which some people buy occasionally, and which I addressed to my third son, I used these words:—"Always honour talent wherever you can find it, particularly if you find it in a poor man—but honour it most when exercised in favour of

a poor man against a rich oppressor." Such are the maxims which have governed me, and which I endeavour to inculcate into my children's minds. I am, therefore, more prone to attend to the welfare of the labouring classes, well knowing that if these pence and half-pence are taken care of, the shillings and sixpences will take care of themselves. There is no principle which I have ever put forward that does not go to protect all property alike, the property in the taxes only excepted—a species of property acquired on the principle, he catches who catch can, and the acquirement which it is any man's duty to resist by all the legal means in his power. Let us put a case to you. I am only supposing it, for it has not, as you will see, happened yet. Suppose now, one of the master manufacturers of your town to be reduced suddenly in his circumstances, by the late terrible acts of the Government—by degrees getting worse—his bills dishonoured—obliged to break up his establishment, sell his property, and dispose of his factory at about a tenth part of what it cost him—suppose him to be in the hands of a few malicious creditors, who seize him, put him in

prison, make him an insolvent, and that in his state of beggary, he is obliged to receive relief from the parish. What! shall that man who has been paying poor rates for perhaps threescore years, when the election comes, shall he not be entitled to vote, because, out of the thousands he has paid to the poor rates, he receives now some few shillings to save himself from starving?—(Much cheering.) Gentlemen, this is the case of us all. They talk of Whigs, Tories, and Radicals, distinctions which I always disliked. We are only two classes altogether—the one class that pays the taxes, the other class that eats the taxes. I belong myself to the former class. I always belonged to it. I have been always a tax payer, and perhaps, few persons have paid their taxes more cheerfully than I have; for I had my dip, I have had my cut at those who have been the instruments in levying them. I have seen those that have wept for being compelled to pay such an amount of taxes as they have paid—but I always said, do not lie down under the burden—show your hostility to the system which causes the weight, destroy that by every legal means, and you will destroy the burden. Gentlemen, I in-

tend to show you at our next time of meeting, what, probably a great number of you, those at least who are young men may not know—namely, how the Kings of England in former times, when England was as glorious as she is now, did without any taxes. I'll show you what her estate was. I'll show you how the property of her Kings was taken away, on the pretence that it was for their benefit, and how it was dribbled away to nothing, and how it lies over the country at this day—this Lord taking a part—a part to that Duke—a Noble Earl having a shire here—and a big Gentleman taking another shire there—and lastly, how large a share of it fell into their hands, generally, who have the most power in returning Members to Parliament.—(Laughter and cheers.) This detail will amuse you—and you will see thence the necessity of having the matter put to rights. The people will tell you that the taxes have always been in existence. It is not so. They have been in the world not above thirty years—not longer than Pitt's time scarcely. Pitt is the father of the taxes. There are some people who think that Pitt is the father of us all. I know he is not

my father at all events.—(Laughter and cheers.) Thirty years ago the taxes were sixteen millions a year—they are now fifty-seven millions a year. In the reign, the glorious reign of Queen Anne, when England beat France in war—when she extended her power in a surprising degree, five millions a year were the amount of the taxes, and that too, when the army which performed all these achievements were to be supported. Now, the taxes are fifty-seven millions a year—and it is a time of peace. This is so incredible, that if it were not capable of being easily proved, I would not tell it to you. It is my intention to show you how this work of taxation and poverty has gone on. But, Gentlemen, much paper and ink have been wasted, a great deal of preaching, all modes of inculcating notions have been exhausted, for the purpose of making you believe that our country is a monstrous great swaggering thing now, to what it was in former times. Gentlemen, our vanity—the principle of human vanity—comes in to assist those fellows who make this assertion, for we will not be content to acknowledge, that our country is not so glorious now, as it was six

hundred years ago—our vanity will not let us allow this. But the way to act wisely is to listen to truth, to discard vanity in our inquiries, and search after truth. I will show you that England is much less glorious now than she was six hundred years ago. I will show this by facts so satisfactory that nobody can doubt the conclusion; facts that will so work upon your feelings, as to inspire you with the will and determination not to die before you see England once more the free and happy country she once was. If you do me the honour to send me to Parliament, every exertion of mine,—and you have seen that I am capable of no little exertion,—shall be used to restore England to her former condition of renown and happiness. — (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I have been amused at what I understand some persons have been saying since we came here—namely, “If he is in the House of Commons he will be able to say nothing at all.”—Well, then, I must fall down in a fit, to be sure.—(A laugh.) Perhaps out of the unspeakable respect which I bear to that Honourable House, so great will be my reverence for it, so humbled and abashed shall I find myself in its sight, that I shall not be able to utter one word.

Gentlemen, please to recollect, that that House passed an Act, which they still keep in force, to send me (and I firmly believe that that Act was made for me and me alone) into banishment if I uttered (for the second time) any thing having a tendency to bring it into contempt. Gentlemen, that House had existed for seven hundred years before it did such a thing as that. And what must be their opinion of their constituents? What must they think of themselves when they prepared to punish with banishment those constituents if they ventured to laugh at their representatives? Gentlemen, the first moment I am in the House, I shall not be there for one five minutes, without moving that that Act shall be burned by the hands of the common hangman. — (Great cheers and laughter.) They may say what they will about my low origin. I began, to be sure, by keeping the rooks off the pease; I was born, I may say, in a green field: there are some Ministers who were born in a green room. (Laughter.) I began by keeping away rooks, by keeping off these robbers from that which they had no right to eat. I have been all my life striving to keep off robbers from that which they ought

not to take. I pledge myself to you, at all events, that in that House I shall not have a seat for one five minutes, without saying in that place, that I would not sit there one moment longer covered with the infamy which is brought upon it by the existence of a law to protect me from the people. If I live and you live, you will hear of it when I do it. I will give notice for the repeal of that Act, and that succeeding, I shall move that it be burned by the hands of the common hangman. — (Great laughter and cheers.) Any thing more monstrous than such an Act cannot be well conceived. Here so conscious *are* they—so conscious *were* they, I should say, for we must not speak of the present Parliament—so satisfied that they merited the contempt of their constituents, that they denounced the punishment of banishment for the utterance of any thing tending to bring their body into contempt. What would be thought of any gentleman who, riding in the streets, and seeing a group of persons, should say, “Don’t laugh at me, or I’ll send you all to banishment?”—(A laugh.) What would be thought of your Mayor—one of the last persons, I believe, to do such a thing—what

would be thought of him, if, seeing a parcel of boys and girls laughing at him, he should transport them all to Lancaster? Gentlemen, I have only to say, that to-morrow I recommence my canvass. It is a laborious work, but not more laborious than pleasant, not requiring more labour than I am able to encounter. Gentlemen, if possible, I will go to your houses, and shake by the hand every man and woman of you. I will use all lawful means in my power to obtain a seat in that House, where, I think, and you are sure also, that I can be of great service to you. It will not be in my power to address you again before Friday; but, at the same hour on that day, if you have leisure, and nothing better to do, I will be happy to see you. So good night. --- (Great applause.)

The crowd separated in the greatest order.

The opening part of Mr. Cobbett’s speech alludes to a search, which has been made for some boys who stripped some trees in the neighbourhood of their branches to decorate the procession on Monday last.

[From the Morning Herald, June 5.]

Preston, June 3.

Mr. Cobbett continues his canvass with unwearied diligence. His interviews with some of the electors, and his dialogues with the wives when they happen to be at all disposed to be humorous, are amusing in the extreme. Passing by a cottage in the outskirts of the town yesterday, the following invitation attracted the eyes of the canvassing party. It was pasted on the outside of the door:—

Mr. William Cobbett
Come entre my cot,
Three or fore votes
Will fall to your lot.

They did enter at the sound of this agreeable “sesame,” and found therein three substantial voters, who gave earnest promises of support. Mr. Cobbett speaks with the strongest degree of feeling of the wretched scenes which he has witnessed in the course of his canvass. He unexpectedly entered a cottage yesterday, where he found a family of five or six preparing to make one of the few meals of the day on a piece of liver scarcely enough for one. He immediately threw down half a sovereign, and retired amidst the blessings of the wretched

family. “Ah! Mr. Cobbett,” exclaimed an elector, with a face of glee that indicated that he was about to make a decided hit in the way of a jest, “I am going to support you, but you will not take it; you won’t like my name.” “Not like your name, my friend?” “No, you would think yourself disgraced by it.” “Well, what is this name?”—“William Pitt.” It is needless to say that the declaration was followed by a hearty laugh, and William Cobbett and William Pitt shook hands with the greatest cordiality. An Address from Chorley to the Electors of Preston was circulated here. It is to this effect:—

TO THE ELECTORS OF PRESTON.

Gentlemen,—We, the unrepresented part of the Inhabitants of Chorley and its Vicinity, beg leave to address you on the subject of the ensuing Election.

We have seen you struggling against the monstrous Coalition for the last twenty years, with admiration and sympathy; first under *Hanson*, then under *Crompton*, and lastly, when the monster received its death blow, under *Hunt* and *Williams*. We congratulate you on this bursting of your fetters. We congratulate you on the grand opportunity you now have of sending the only real champion of the people, Mr. Cobbett, into Parliament.

Gentlemen,—you have no doubt heard much of this Great Man: you have heard much of his inconsistency—much of his venality—much of his moral turpitude; but we defy any man to point out a single in-

stance, for the last twenty-five years of his life, wherein he has deserted the cause of the people: we defy any man to prove that he ever took a bribe: we defy any one to show us a single instance in the whole of his writings, where he inculcates vice and licentiousness.

When this persecuted man was driven out of his country—when he was driven into exile to avoid the *dungeons of Castlereagh and Sidmouth*—he did not turn his back on his country; he did not forget that he had left his friends and his countrymen manacled and gagged by these Ministers of misrule. No: he redoubled his efforts to release his country from bondage; to strike its deadly foes to the earth, and to restore it to its wonted prosperity.

Did not he, with unparalleled talent and industry, do that, while resting on the lap of America, which has immortalized his name; done honour to his country; thrown a lustre upon letters; and brought renown upon the press? He, by his own individual exertions, with his sole pen, wrote and conducted two weekly Newspapers, at the same time, in two different nations, a thousand leagues asunder!!! And that he did these things with his usual ability, the *famous Long Island Prophecy* bears ample testimony.

Gentlemen,—You are told that if you put Mr. Cobbett into Parliament he will lose courage—that he will be scared by the superior talents of the other Members. God knows what kind of men may be sent this Election; but if we take the last Parliament for a sample, we say that there is no foundation for this story. You are told, too, that if he have the courage to do what he promises, the Ministers will buy him over. Gentlemen, we do not know how far the Ministers are capable of bribery and corruption, but we know that many of our countrymen have been sent to prison for slighter assertions than these against the same personages.

Gentlemen,—We trust that you

see through these miserable shifts and tricks of his enemies. They are solely meant to annoy him, and to prevent you from giving him your votes at the ensuing Election. We beg to assure you, that the eyes of the whole country are upon you. Upon your conduct at this Election depends the future peace and welfare of our country. We rest assured that you know your duty; and your present conduct tells us you are determined to do it.

Should Mr. Cobbett be returned for the Borough of Preston, at this Election, he will enter the House of Commons amidst the acclamations of the people. Anticipating events, Gentlemen, we can judge of your feelings on this occasion when you can, encircled among your friends, hold up your heads and say individually, "And I, too, was one of those persons who, setting aside all personal interest and sensual gratifications, for the good of my country, boldly came forward on the *day of Election*, and gave Mr. Cobbett a *Plumper!*"

June 1.

In the evening Mr. Cobbett addressed between five and six thousand persons, from the windows of the Castle Inn, to the following effect:—

Gentlemen—Before I proceed to the matter which I have to request your attention to this evening, I beg to communicate to you the information which I have received from London, relative to this job which we have in hand. —(A laugh.) The election, I suppose, will be about next Monday week—it will begin then, in all probability—how long a time

or how little a time it will last, I really cannot say. Gentlemen, the Parliament—thank God and the King—the Parliament was put an end to last night, I believe. It is no more before this time, and we are all, thank God, under a kingly government for a time at all events. Gentlemen, a very celebrated Frenchman, Rousseau, a very celebrated politician, speaking of the liberties of England, said, that the people of England were free for only forty days in every seven years—that is to say, when the House of Commons has no existence. Only forty days' freedom in seven years! And he added—remember he added this—the use which they make of this forty days of freedom proves that they ought to be slaves for the rest of the time. I am very sorry to say, and you know it well, that this observation is but too true, generally speaking. For, Gentlemen, the use which the Electors of England generally make of the forty days of freedom—the forty days of opportunity which they have to take care of their rights—to send the person whom they wish to represent them to Parliament—the use which the Electors generally make of that power, only proves that they ought to be

slaves for the rest of the seven years. I trust, Gentlemen, that you are about to set an example of the contrary of this; I trust you will so act as to make me, at the end of this election, to invoke the shade of Rousseau—to call this Frenchman from his grave, and say to him, "I will show you a body of British electors who do not merit the censure which you have cast upon the whole—who do not use their forty days' liberty as if they merited slavery for seven years." Gentlemen, I hope your conduct will be such as to enable me to say this; and, filled with hope, I proceed now to address you.

Gentlemen, when we last parted I made a sort of promise, that when we next should meet I would communicate to you such information as I possessed, relative to the mode in which the Kings of England formerly kept up their regal state, without drawing any thing from the taxes. Gentlemen, what I have seen in the course of my canvass, particularly yesterday, induces me to choose another topic. There is no harm, surely, in my doing so—in changing one's mind on such an occasion; there is no great harm in such a breach of pro-

mise as this—at all events, this promise was not as sacred as promises which were not kept, and which were made by persons at a time when they did not know what they were doing.

Gentlemen, the topic I mean to address you upon, is pauperism. Gentlemen, I have seen such scenes of misery, such scenes of woe, as I believe never existed in the world. I have read, indeed, of worse scenes existing in Ireland: I have heard talk of worse,—but I have never seen so bad before, or any thing even approaching the condition in which I yesterday beheld a woman and her children. Gentlemen, this sight has induced me to swerve from my intention of addressing you as to the manner in which the Kings of England formerly maintained themselves without taxes on the people. I intend to speak to you of another sort of paupers, which is the cause of that particular sort of pauperism, so many examples of which I saw to-day. When a man becomes a pauper (a name which was formerly unknown in this happy land)—when a man becomes so situated as to receive relief,—a relief, by the bye, which he has a right to receive by law, as I showed you, on the last

day of our meeting, he is reproached as a criminal, as an outcast, as worthy of no privilege, as a man to be trodden under foot, as a person to be treated as they please, by those who give him the relief.

Let me now speak of that other description of paupers, the paupers who are relieved out of the taxes; those taxes having been collected from the earnings of the labouring people, in a great measure out of the necessities of life, wearing apparel, out of every thing they use. During the last twenty years, the sum of sixteen hundred thousand pounds,—one million six hundred thousand pounds, have been applied for the relief of whom?—the poor clergy of the established Church.—(A laugh.) Now look at this poor clergy! This sum for the relief of the poor clergy of England! Well, is not this as much relief as parish-relief?—(A laugh.) Aye, and it is more shameful too, for it is given to gentlemen and ladies doing nothing, who breed other gentlemen and ladies who do nothing, without any body thinking of putting a check to them either. These are the persons to whom the money is given, and it is taken from the industrious people. The man of property too,

the gentleman, the master manufacturer, the shop-keeper, the tradesman, all have a share in this contribution. Gentlemen, call it what you will; it is relief; yet, if we attempted to reproach these persons, to hold up the finger to them, and say, there goes a nest of paupers, we should be called disloyal, rebellious. God knows what, and fit to be destroyed by horse or foot, or no matter how. Gentlemen, I wish that this sixteen hundred thousand pounds were all that were given to this description of splendid paupers, but it is not; and if I read their names to you, if I read the list of all the lords and all the ladies, of all the uncles, all the aunts, of all the cousins, of all the nieces, all the grand-children, all the children, all the relations, of all sorts that belong to this class of paupers, I should not have done reading them to you before the election was finished.

Gentlemen, with your permission, now since there are projects a-foot for checking the growth of population, for preventing women from having children, since there are projects a-foot for diminishing the demand for parish relief in a way that is not decent to be described in such company as I see before me; you will, I see, allow me

to read the names of some of these genteel paupers; you have them here pensioned away from the moment of their birth, pensioned from their birth until after their marriage; lords, ladies, lords' daughters, &c. &c.; in short, the whole of them, peers and peers' relations are heaped together in this book, which has been published by order of Parliament, and published too at our expense, and therefore we have a right to use it.—(A laugh.)

Gentlemen, I will just take a group or two for you of these splendid paupers. Is it not a greater shame for them to obtain relief in this way, although they are not reproached, than the poor man, who, perhaps, has a numerous family to support, to obtain relief, and is so unjustly the object of reproach? Shall we blaspheme so? Shall we turn the Scriptures upside down so? Shall we set all laws at defiance to gratify an insulting oppressor? Here are the names of a pretty group. In the first place:—

Here Mr. Cobbett took up the third Report of the Committee on the Public Expenditure of the United Kingdom, Pensions, Sinecures, Revenues, &c., ordered to be printed June 29, 1808.

Benedict, Arnold and Thomas Morrison, in trust for Edward

Stephen Arnold, James Robertson Arnold, and Sophia Matilda Arnold—very pretty names these—(a laugh) and George Arnold, one hundred pounds each, until they are married.—(A laugh.) Then there is Lord Lauderdale, and somebody else, in trust for Lord Rosslyn's children, and then there is a list of the children with their pensions. These pensions are paid out of the taxes levied upon you—levied on your tea, your candles, your soap, on the beer you drink, on the hundred other articles of consumption which you use. Then there are the M'Kenzies—each of them with one hundred and twenty pounds a year—a pretty family of children. What a multitude of you would this sum keep, according to our way of keeping people. Here is another pretty group, Robert Hallifax and Catharine Hallifax, the widow in trust for Gertrude Hallifax, Charlotte Hallifax, Marianne Hallifax, Caroline Hallifax, Catherine Hallifax, and Elizabeth Hallifax.—(Laughter.) A whole family of paupers! Then there is Lord Sydney, and the Rev. T. Sydney, in trust for somebody; in short, the book is so full of these people I wish I could give a copy of it to each of

you, for I am sure you ought to have it. You have heard of that swaggering blade the Marquis of Anglesea, a very proud lord—a man of noble descent, though I believe some of his ancestors were pages in the time of Henry VIII.—but that is no matter. You remember he made a dreadful denunciation about the Irish last year—a very gallant and proud lord. This lord had got a sister, and she enjoyed a pension of three hundred a year since the year 1801; after that, however, she had to be married, and she wanted a little more, and accordingly a little more was added to the pension. But, Gentlemen, all this is out of our money, that is the worst of it.—(A laugh.) Can there be any reason in such a system as this? We are told, Gentlemen, that a kingly government cannot be sustained, without that Government taking away the earnings of the poor man, the profits of the shopkeeper, the manufacturer, and the merchant; and the rent of the estated gentleman; and distributing them amongst their own dependants. Unless this is done, they say, a kingly government is not to be supported. In my mind, that is but a poor compliment to kingly governments; it is the loyal men

who say this. I, who am called a jacobin, a radical, and the devil knows what—I say it may be sustained without any tricks of the sort—that it has been sustained without them for nearly a thousand years.—that it was without them when England was greater, more glorious, more happy, than she is now. When she was a most powerful country—renowned for good living—for all sorts of virtues—when valour and hospitality were the least of her virtues; when she was honest and valiant, virtuous, and every thing good: and yet for one thousand years, while that was her character, not one farthing was ever raised in taxes, to be laid out in the manner I have described to you. It is we, then, who are the loyal men, who would deliver the country from this unjust charge, from this unjust distribution, from this family account of Sir Robert Peel, wherein one part of the family takes all the victuals, and nothing remains for the rest. But, Gentlemen, it is a gross misrepresentation, and highly injurious to kingly government, to say that the existence of the evils under which we smart, of the mischief which produces all sorts of misfortunes, which takes away our earnings, and snatches away the dinner

from off the table; it is, I say, a gross misrepresentation to attribute the fault of this to kingly government. It reminds me of the story in the Bible, with which you are well acquainted; I mean the Apocryphal story of Bel and the Dragon. This idol is there represented to have been in the habit of swallowing, daily, a great quantity of victuals. The Priests declared him to have a most voracious appetite. Baskets of food were placed before the god every day. What has become of them? cried the people. He has eaten them all up since last you were here, exclaimed the priests; and more was brought. At last some amongst them, more cunning than the rest, resolved to see if Bel was as great a devourer as they said he was. Unseen by the priests, they strewed ashes, or something else, I forget what it was; and soon after found the traces of the footsteps of the wives of the priests, who came to take away the provisions which they said poor Bel had devoured.—(Laughter.) In the same manner the King is treated. A round million they score down to him. Ask them how that million is spent. If you hear the truth, you will find, that a great part, if not nearly the whole, is shared

amongst themselves. Now this is material for you to know; and, if there was a reformed representation, to which a certain gentleman, in this place, seems to take such a dislike, this would not be. Do you think that if the Members of Parliament, generally, were chosen by the people as freely as you choose your Members here, that the taxes would be given away in the manner I have described? No, the people would take care to choose men who would take an opposite course of distribution; who, in short, would take the necessary steps to put an end to those splendid paupers. Gentlemen, this is the thing to keep to. Unless a reform takes place in Parliament; unless the men, who are to vote away the public money are freely chosen by you, they will give it in the way I have described; but if they are sent there by their relations, and immediate friends, is it not natural, that when they have the opportunity, they will give away that money to those relations and friends? In the mean time something may be done; some little to check the progress of this expense; something is immediately called for. Does it not astonish you that nothing has been done; nothing stated, no resolutions passed, no declara-

tions made up to this time? Is it not very singular that it should be reserved for me to state all this; to propose a remedy for all this? Are you not astonished? Perhaps it may be stated—I may be asserting that which is not true? But I am speaking in the presence of you all; what I say will be printed in London in a few days, from this, in a better shape, perhaps, than I now speak it to you.—And here, by way of episode, let me remark to you, that I have seen, in a Paris paper which has been just put into my hands, translated into the French language, a speech which I made since I came here, a speech which I delivered to you, the Electors of Preston, from this place. So that, Gentlemen, what I say, being in print, as it will be, if I stated that which is not true, I should be torn to atoms, at least, by the press. It is not likely, Gentlemen, I would expose myself to this hazard. It is, Gentlemen, then, you will see somewhat surprising that these facts have not before appeared in print—that they have not been brought before Parliament—that they have not been made a subject of resolutions and bills. But, Gentlemen, if all the people were to hear these facts:

stated before them—if they were to be embodied in the shape of resolutions and acts—if they were to be brought forward in the numerous ways in which a skilful man can put them—if this were done, it would be impossible that the enormous abuses which I have described should continue. Let me, then, appeal to you. Electors of Preston, you have it in your power to cause that statement to be made—you have it in your power to choose that skilful man, who will promulgate these facts in such a manner, that they will reach every soul in the kingdom. Gentlemen, you will act in such a manner as to enable me to give the lie to the Frenchman, and to wipe away that stain on the character of the English, when he said that they used the liberty of forty days in such a manner as proved they ought to be slaves the rest of the seven years.

To-morrow evening I shall have an opportunity of addressing you upon the subject which I promised should have been the theme of this evening. I shall pursue the canvass with all diligence—as I should do if I had the least doubt of success. I feel, however, as conscious that I shall succeed as I can be of anything in this world.—I shall, as it is

my duty, go to the house of every man, particularly every poor man, to shake him and his wife by the hand—to pledge myself to him to do every thing in my power to deliver him from his present misery, wretchedness, and want—want, brought about by no fault of his, but resulting from the system pursued by the Government. Only think of the situation of the poor man—a weaver, suppose him to have full work, earns about 35l. or 36l. a-year.—20l. of that go in taxes, as I am ready to prove. I say this in the presence of 10,000 of you. I say it also in the presence of many who will be able to detect me if I speak a falsehood. I repeat that out of the 36l. he earns, the weaver pays 20l. in taxes. Supposing this weaver to have been at work 30 years—20 times 30, here are 600l. from the weaver in 30 years. If he had this sum in his pocket, and if it was not enjoyed by the splendid paupers, how well off would the poor weaver be in case of sickness, or slackness of work. Gentlemen, it is right, it is fair, that you should enjoy the fruits of your labour. You should be restored to that condition in which you should have to yourselves the produce of your own industry.

instead of its being wasted in gilded chariots and diamond-covered dresses for the splendid paupers who devour the substance of the land.

The vast concourse having given three cheers, retired in the most orderly manner.

[*From the Morning Herald, June 7th.*]

Preston, 5th June.

THE writs for the Election have been received, and the polling will, in all probability, commence on Saturday or Monday at farthest.

At the usual hour and place Mr. COBBETT addressed an immense crowd to the following effect:—Gentlemen, I am very much afraid that nothing I shall be able to say to you will be a sufficient compensation to you for the trouble you are so good as to take to listen to what I have to say. But there are some facts relating to the mode in which formerly the Government was carried on, without those loads of taxes, the occasion of all the distress, which facts, as I have on a former night promised to do, I will now state. A notion appears to prevail pretty much, that England was always the miserable taxed country she now is. Nothing can be more erroneous—you have all read about, you have all heard songs about, you have all listened to tunes about the Roast Beef of Old England. Precious little of that roast beef, I promise you, have I seen in the houses of those ingenious, industrious persons whom I have canvassed within these three or four days in Preston. Foreigners believe and say

that all the English eat roast beef and plum-pudding.—(A laugh.) Our forefathers had both, and in great abundance too. And this is one reason why we should not be conceited of ourselves—why we should not let our vanity, our human frailty so get the better of us, as to make us believe that we are so much wiser, so much more clever than our old-fashioned forefathers. *They* did not, at all events, suffer the Government of their day to take away the dinner from their table—they did not permit this—whatever were the follies that could be laid to their charge, and they were not without some follies; they took special care that whatever sort of Government they had over them, however the Parliament was composed, whether of Bishops, or Peers, or Commons, or all; whether they had no Parliament, or whether they had no King, they took good care of this, that the Government, however constituted, should not take from them their good living.—(Cheers, and laughter.) Hence England was a country always renowned for good living; all those old sayings about roast beef and plum pudding—about English hospitality, must have arisen from something; they could not have proceeded from nothing; those sayings were too general to have come from nothing, from a nonentity. There must have been therefore roast beef and plum pudding, not confined to the tables of the great and the rich, but common to everybody; all the people must have been in the habit of tasting it—they must have practised hospitality, and the poor must have received it commonly at the houses of the

rich. When I was a boy things were very different, compared with what they are at this day. I can remember very well when hospitality was shown at the houses of the Noblemen, Bishops, Deans, dignitaries, and estated men. I can remember this. Gentlemen, let me advert to the cause of this great change. You are told to believe, and it is the interest as it is the constant endeavour of these taxing rulers of yours to make you believe, that England was always—was from time immemorial the taxed country she now is; that the people always paid a monstrous deal of taxes to the Government. This is a very gross falsehood, as gross as ever was endeavoured to be instilled into the minds of any people. The truth is, that until two centuries ago England knew comparatively nothing at all of taxes; the people had none to pay. "What!" you will ask, "no taxes! why, what paid the sin-cures, the pensions—what maintained a standing army? What kept up the barracks? What paid the bands of pensioners?" The answer to these questions is this. There were no such things in those days; no sin-cures; no pensioners; no barracks; no standing armies.—(Mr. Cobbett might have been forgiven if he had added "no stage coaches;" for at this moment the Lancaster coach was wantonly driven through the crowd, who instead of retorting the insult, peacefully opened a passage, and let the intruder in.) Gentlemen, I say that all these things were unknown to England in former days, they are all of modern date. Blackstone, in his Commentaries, a book, mind you,

that was made by a Judge on the Bench; a book, indeed, containing only the laws themselves, a book that is constantly referred to by lawyers, says expressly that the laws of England knew no such thing as a standing soldier in time of peace—knew no such thing as a barrack—no such thing as an internal fortress; all these things, he says, are inimical to liberty: they do very well for despotic countries, but they are unknown to England. And this Judge wrote only so little a time ago as the beginning of the reign of his late Majesty. How is it that this great, this terrible change has been brought about? None of these expenses had to be defrayed, therefore no money was asked for to defray them—no taxes were levied for that purpose—and as to the national debts, they are quite of modern date, though we are told very differently by Wm. Pitt and his associates, but there was no debt, at least none to signify, before his time. The kings formerly had their own estates, their landed estates like the noblemen and great men, and with the produce of these estates they kept their Judges, their Ambassadors, their gentlemen in attendance, their Master of the Robes, Master of the Horse, in short, all the officers of State, in the same way as a nobleman now keeps his coachman, his butler, and other servants. That was the state of England in former time: she knew nothing of taxes. When the king wanted money to be raised by taxes to carry on his foreign wars, to give dower to a daughter, or to dispose of it for any other usual purpose, he called a Parliament, and asked them to

give him so much. The Parliament sometimes granted him money, and sometimes, remember, sometimes they refused to grant it. But when they did lay on taxes, it was on the estates of the noblemen, not on the beer, the malt, the sugar, the tea of that lady below me, not on the things which were consumed by the people. All was charged on the nobles, and, therefore, it was that those noblemen had the chief hand in former times in sending Members to Parliament; and a very good right they had to appoint the persons who granted away the money, for what needed the people to have cared what the Parliament did with the money, so long as they had nothing to do with *their* money?—(A laugh and cheers.) Now, Gentlemen, with respect to this estate of His Majesty. There is still a king of England, regularly descending from his ancestors—and you will very naturally say to me, What has become of the estate? why has he not the estate now? I'll tell you, Gentlemen. Certain noblemen and other courtiers were cunning enough to get it away from him, now a piece from here, then a piece from there, a mine here, for the King had those estates over all the counties—they were very large, quite enough to maintain all the expenses of a kingly establishment. But the nobles took it away by degrees, getting the Parliament to give it to them not directly, but by leases or grants for 99 and 100 years, or some other sort of terms, so that the King has no part of it now at all events. Gentlemen, you have all heard of my Lord Lonsdale, the head of the Lowther family, here in Westmor-

land, the neighbouring county to you. I could give you one hundred instances of the way in which the King's estate was given away, but that for the present I see we are likely to be interrupted by a part of this standing army in time of peace—(The interruption proceeded from the fife and drum of a recruiting party that was passing in the neighbourhood, and the allusion excited much laughter.) I will give you one specimen. In the county of Westmorland there is this family I mentioned to you by the name of Lowther, at the head of which is Lord Lonsdale. I remember the time when he was called Sir James Lowther, but he became by degrees, first a Baron, then a Viscount, then an Earl; and this Earl Lonsdale has, I will not say he has got a part, I will not go so far as to accuse him of taking a part, but he has got a lease of part of the King's estate.—(Much laughing.) There is a great deal, let me tell you, in having it in the terms of a lease. In short, Gentlemen, this Nobleman has got a very considerable, a very valuable part of the estate—very valuable; there are mines on it too. This estate of Lord Lonsdale was rented—mind, rented, by his predecessor, for ninety-nine years (a good long course of time), beginning at a period which I shall read for you presently. This immense estate was let for a mere trifle. It may be worth 40, or 50, or 60,000*l.* a year. I do not say it is—I do not know that it is; but it may, for aught I know, be worth more. You shall hear what it is let for; and in order to enable you to judge better of this whole matter, I'll state one or two facts more. There

is in London a very fashionable street called Pall-mall, which belonged formerly to the Crown. I should have told you before, that the estates of the Crown being taken away, were given to the public. The public has the benefit of them, His Majesty getting in lieu a sweeping sum of money. This estate is, therefore, the public's—our's now, and Lord Lonsdale is our tenant—(A laugh.) I shall now tell you an anecdote, which I know of my own knowledge, and therefore can vouch for the truth of it. I myself rented a house in this same street, Pall-mall, nearly opposite a place called Carlton House, the house where the King resided when he was Prince of Wales, and where His Majesty now comes to when in London. Well, the rent I paid to the person who had a lease of it was 300*l.* a year. The rent which that person paid to the public, to *us*, was fifteen pounds, sixteen shillings and two pence a year.—(Cheers and laughter.) Very well. The Duke of Buckingham has a house in the same street, Pall-mall—a most magnificent palace of a house, and I should say that it might be very moderately let for a thousand pounds a year—his Grace pays forty-two pounds and some odd pence a year for this house—(a laugh), adding about twenty pounds a year, which he pays as a fine for the granting of the lease. There is another house not far from those I have mentioned, called Marlborough House, and I am sure I used always to think that it belonged to the Dukes of Marlborough; but it does not; it is the public's—it is our house.—(A laugh.) During the time that

a residence was sought out for the late unfortunate Queen, this house was going to be rented of her son-in-law, the Prince of Coburg. The rent asked then was 1500*l.* a year. The rent which the Duke pays *us* the public, is 35*l.* a year. Gentlemen, there is a specimen for you of the way in which this estate, the public's estate, is taken care of. I have often said, and I could prove it, that if that estate was fairly managed, it would be sufficient at this moment to maintain an adequate establishment for His Majesty; it would enable him to pay his Judges, his Ambassadors, all the Officers of State, of whom he may have occasion: it would be sufficient to defray every possible expense for carrying on the government, exclusive of those of that capital article, the Navy. The whole of this estate does not produce a net average rent; I speak from the accounts made out by the Parliament itself—of more than 100, or 150,000*l.* a year, whereas, it ought to yield one million and a half. That is my opinion, as I shall make manifest to the Parliament when you shall have done me the honour of sending me there. Here, then, is a proof of the manner in which their affairs are managed for the public—that abused, cajoled, and deceived public. Between 100,000*l.* and 150,000*l.* a year—(it certainly never exceeds 180,000*l.*)—about 130,000*l.* a year on the average, to be received from an estate which ought to yield better than a million and a half! Gentlemen, you will observe that I state these facts not alone to you, who, when you are dispersed from this place, may not be able long to bear them in your recollections—but who, at

least, will be able to repeat them to your neighbours, or to one another; it is not to you alone, who, I know, cannot state them to the world, who cannot circulate them in print. But I state them in the hearing of those who are sure to write them down—who are sure to put them on paper, to cause them to be put in print; they will be sent up to London, and you will see them come back to you here in a newspaper, in a week or ten days from this. You may be sure, therefore, that I would not make these statements if I did not believe them to be true to the best of my knowledge; and that if I do deceive you, it is from error, and not from a wish to deceive. Bear this in mind—bear in mind that I make this statement to you, knowing that my reputation depends on its being true, for there are a great many persons who would be glad of the opportunity to show that that reputation was bad—glad of the opportunity, to use a vulgar expression, of picking a hole in my coat—(A laugh.) It is with the full knowledge of that circumstance that I make this statement to you. I make it, pledging my reputation for knowledge, to the truth of what I say, namely, that the crown estate, or rather the public estate, for such in reality it is, is worth much nearer two millions sterling a year than it is the paltry sum which it actually yields—(Cheers.) Gentlemen, to manage that subject alone, is worth sending a man to Parliament for. Let me now read for you out of this book the particulars of that part of the estate of Walkingham which has come into the hands of the Lowthers. Let

me beg of you to consider what are your rights. Let me tell you that of that estate, of which the Earl of Lonsdale is now the tenant, we are all the owners; that that poor weaver I now see under me is as much the part owner of it as any Nobleman or Gentleman of England is the owner of the estates which he lets to his tenants. Every man, I say, who pays a tax—every man who breathes the air of England, I say, is as much such part owner as any of the persons I mentioned are the owners of the estate they let. Gentlemen, you see to describe the divers items of this estate in the shortest possible compass takes all these leaves, 111 pages.—[Here Mr. Cobbett took up the Report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, dated Jan. 25, 1787.]—Gentlemen, I find that it consists of three-fourths of the barony of Kendal; that is to say, “two-fourth parts thereof called the Richmond fee, and one-fourth thereof called the Marquis fee; and the grant is made free to Sir J. Lowther for a term of ninety-nine years from the 28th October 1768, or for the lives of the second James Lowther, the Prince of Wales, now his present Majesty, and the Bishop of Osnaburgh; who is, as you know, the Duke of York—that is, the estate is good to Sir James Lowther or his successor for 99 years, or for the lives of those I have named. Sir J. Lowther is since dead, but the King and the Duke of York are alive, and the estate is to last for their lives. Now, Gentlemen, you shall hear the rent that is paid for these estates. It used to be 10s. a year—(A laugh) of late years it has been 379l. 8s. 4½d. (A

laugh.) It is for these three farthings that I always admired our Government so; they are so exact, so scrupulous, that they would not for the world omit carrying the farthings into the account.—(A laugh.) But, Gentlemen, I find indeed that there was paid on behalf of this estate in 1804 a matter of 1000*l*. Such are the terms on which is held an estate which I understand is worth 40,000*l*. to 50,000*l*. a year. I have heard so. I have heard it is worth a great deal. Is it not worth while then that the people should send some man into Parliament who understands these matters, who has the necessary knowledge, who has the resolution to bring them before the House of Commons, and the talent and skill to get attention to what he says there, and failing there, to induce the people to insist upon what is right being done?—(Cheers.) Gentlemen, I talked the other night to you of the splendid paupers. You will scarcely believe me when I tell you, I know I shall be accused for saying it—but it is a fact that we have some of these pensioners before they are born, and other pensioners after they are dead.—(A laugh.) This is extraordinary, it is nevertheless true. Gentlemen, the last war produced a great many comfortable things—things that will last all our life, if not stifled in time by some rude hand. Amongst other things it produced what is called the dead-weight—that is to say, payment to officers who served in the war. The United States of America, when their officers have done service, having been paid for what they did during the war, don't pay them anymore. Our Government does

the contrary of this, they pay their officers after the war is over. It gives so much half-pay to the officer who is single, and, by the by, an officer may become parson and have his half pay; that is one thing that it is ascertained he can do, but if he marries, then there is a pension to his wife in case of his death—and if she be in the family way, there is a pension in the like event to the child before it is in existence. All this because the father once served in the army during the war. Here is a premium on matrimony! Who would not marry an officer, whether he had whiskers or not—(loud laughter)? who would not marry one of them, even old or young? It is not clear to me, but it would be better for a woman to have the old one, for she has the premiums when he dies.—(A laugh.) So much for the pensioners before they are born. Now for the pensioners that we have after they are dead. Before the breaking out of that renowned French war which left us a debt, created by it, of eight hundred millions—before the commencement of that war, Burke, a Member of the House of Commons, one of the stuffed-in fellows for rotten boroughs, wrote a pamphlet urging to this war. He had a pension settled on him by the Government of 3000*l*. a year for his life. Did it end with his life? No faith, it was settled on his wife after his death, and for being this trumpet to the war, not only for their lives, but for those of three others after his death. One of his late Majesty's daughters, the Princess Amelia, was one life—she is dead. The Rev. Anchetyl Grey, brother to Lord Grey, was

another—he is, I believe, living: and Lord George Cavendish, I think, is the third—he is living. So that this terrible pamphlet writer has enjoyed this pension during his life, for no doubt the moment he got it, he went and sold it for a large sum—no doubt he sacked the money; but here we have to continue to pay it though he has been dead near twenty-seven years.—(Great cheers.) Is not this monstrous? Incredible as it is—hard to be believed as it is, I state it to you as a fact. I think they talk of the loyal shopkeepers—these loyal men in middle life, who are opposed to any change. Will they stand by and see their money taken from them for such purposes? Can such things as these be for the safety and good of the country? Is His Majesty a bit better off by reason of the existence of these things? Oh, no! Shall we see such instances of splendid paupers respected and regarded in society, without being indignant at the reproaches that are cast upon the poor paupers on account of inevitable poverty? Those executors of the 3000*l.* a year, who are yet living, may live still much longer. Lord George Cavendish is not older than I am—he may live ten years—twenty, perhaps thirty years. We have paid the executors of Burke upwards of 70,000*l.* already—we have paid, I say, this base pamphlet writer—this trumpet of the war—this mischievous, hypocritical politician—we have not only paid him and his wife, and his executors since his death, but we have yet a score to pay, perhaps as great, and all for this mischievous pamphlet, which has been, as all gentlemen who have

read much, all literary men, well know, the cause of that war—a war which left a harassing debt that is ruining merchants and farmers—a war that entailed a load of taxes which are pressing down the working classes into all the miseries—into the lowest state of pauperism and degradation—of which human nature are susceptible.—(Cheers.) These are topics, Gentlemen, whose importance are of immense amount. You will be surprised at the statement which I make to you—you will be surprised to learn that such things existed, and that you had not heard them before. But they have existed—they will continue to exist until a remedy is applied. I believe, Gentlemen, that the nation is now in a state that is likely to produce some great change. It is impossible, in short, to go on without a great change. Every rational man must see that a change is the only thing that can save it from mischievous destructive anarchy; for, Gentlemen, a million of Englishmen will not tamely lie down, be content to starve, without making an effort to obtain food. Therefore, Gentlemen, I say it is the duty of every man, who feels that he has the capacity to be of assistance in applying the necessary remedy—it is his duty to offer himself to the people, in order that they may place him in that situation where he can give that assistance: and is it not equally the duty of the people when such a man does so offer himself, to do all in their power towards putting him in that situation? Now, Gentlemen, as to this election. In an ordinary case of an application of this sort—it is

the case of a man offering himself to some particular district, and some portion of electors for their approbation and support. In this case it is not an individual that is calling upon you and requesting that you will do him the honour to send him to Parliament as your representative—but it is a very large part of the nation, a very large part indeed, that is wishing and expressing that wish that this election should terminate in the way that they know will be beneficial to the country. From one end of the kingdom to the other—in every district, in every parish, the people are looking to the electors of Preston to see what their conduct will be on this occasion—are looking to see if they will do that which will give the country a chance of escaping from a continuance of those difficulties under which she is groaning. I request you, Gentlemen, to bear these things in your recollection—some other evening, when we have more time and light, I will read for you an address which has been sent me directed to you from Bolton, exhorting you to choose me; other addresses will follow from various parts of the country—from Yorkshire, Glasgow, Paisley, &c. But my answer to all these exhortations is—"The people of Preston see what is their duty, and seeing it are determined to do it." I wish you, Gentlemen, good night.

The multitude, before separating, gave three cheers.

MANCHESTER, JUNE 6.

The Markets here to-day have been very dull, and there are but few buyers in town. The market for cotton, both raw and in yarn, is what is termed *flat*, and the *material* in particular, is at lingering and declining prices. In short, there is no demand, the buyers holding off in expectation of a considerable and speedy reduction. Stout calicoes are offered at 6s., supers from 5s. to 3s., and velveteens 30s. west, at 22d. cash. A gentleman from Yorkshire has asserted, in my hearing, that, for the last six months, he has not cleared his coach fare. Prints are selling at from 35s. to 11s., and the printing branch is supposed to be doing better than any other. Of London and country purchasers there are but few in town, and those not very eager to lay in stocks. We have, however, Lawrence of London, Morgan of Bristol, James of Hull, Collingham of Lincoln, Wilson of Birmingham, and Middlemost of Shields, and some others, whose names I have not yet been able to ascertain.

There is a general persuasion here, that Mr. Cobbet will be returned for Preston. It has been stated to-day, from respectable authority, that Mr. Horrocks and his partners have declared their intention of voting for Mr. Cobbett and Stanley: and the reason which they assign is, that if they must have a reformer, they will support none but a radical one—none but one who is competent to discharge the duties of a representative.

MARKETS.

Average Prices of CORN throughout ENGLAND, for the week ending May 27.

Per Quarter.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat ..	57	4	Rye	35	0
Barley ..	28	2	Beans ...	37	6
Oats	23	5	Pease ...	37	0

Total Quantity of Corn returned as Sold in the Maritime Districts, for the Week ended May 27.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat ..	27,867	Rye	398
Barley ..	6,023	Beans ...	1,930
Oats ...	16,663	Pease ...	140

Corn Exchange, Mark Lane.

Quantities and Prices of British Corn, &c. sold and delivered in this Market, during the week ended Saturday, May 27.

	Qrs.	£.	s.	d.		s.	d.
Wheat..	4,598 for 13,924	11	6	Average, 60	6		
Barley..	1,247 ..	1,827	17	2.....	29	3	
Oats..	10,741 ..	13,915	16	9.....	25	10	
Rye....	102 ..	157	4	6.....	30	9	
Beans..	1,402	2,685	15	4.....	38	3	
Pease ..	163	309	5	9.....	37	11	

Friday, June 2.—There have been moderate arrivals of all descriptions of Grain this week. The prime parcels of Wheat alone meet a fair demand at Monday's terms; other sorts are very dull, and nearly unsaleable. Barley, Beans, and Pease, are without alteration. Oats find so few buyers, that they appear to be declining in value.

Monday, June 5.—The supplies of most kinds of Grain last week

were moderate, and this morning the fresh samples of Wheat from Essex, Kent, and Suffolk, are not considerable, and of Barley, Beans, and Pease, the quantity is trifling, but of Oats the arrival is tolerably good. The letting out the bonded Corn has made the Wheat trade heavy; that of fine quality obtains the terms of this day se'nnight; other descriptions are dull and nearly unsaleable.

In Barley there is little doing, at last week's prices. Beans and Pease are scarce, and sell freely at last quotations. Fine sweet Oats sell only in small quantities, at the terms of last week. All other descriptions are a trifle lower, with many parcels unsold. There is rather more life in the trade for fresh made Flour.

The entries of the bonded Corn are now making at the Custom-house, half the quantities may be entered between the present time and the 1st of July, and the other half between that period and the 16th of August. Whatever portion is not entered by that period, will remain subject to the old Corn Law.

Price on board Ship as under.

Flour, per sack	50s. — 55s.
— Seconds	42s. — 46s.
— North Country ..	40s. — 43s.

COAL MARKET, June 2.

<i>Ships at Market.</i>	<i>Ships sold.</i>	<i>Price.</i>
60 Newcastle..	33½	26s. 0d. to 34s. 6d.
16 Sunderland..	13	31s. 0d. — 35s. 9d.

Account of Wheat, &c. arrived in the Port of London, from May 29 to June 3, both inclusive.

	Qrs.		Qrs.
Wheat..	4,155	Tares	302
Barley ..	300	Linseed ..	410
Malt....	5,845	Rapeseed..	—
Oats	14,320	Brank ..	—
Beans ...	828	Mustard..	—
Flour....	6,735	Flax	—
Rye.....	—	Hemp ...	—
Pease....	78	Seeds ...	—

Foreign.—Wheat, 3,359; Barley, 21; and Oats, 18,364 quarters.

Monday, June 5.—The arrivals from Ireland last week were 10 firkins of Butter, and 698 bales of Bacon; and from Foreign Ports, 4,574 casks of Butter.

HOPS.

Price per Cwt. in the Borough:

Monday, June 5.—The bines generally are growing fast, and the flies increasing in some districts. In the counties of Worcester and Hereford, ten to twenty flies on a leaf are reported. Prices are stationary.

Maidstone, June 1.—The Hopbines keep growing, and look particularly strong and well. There are some reports of the fly, but at present we do not consider them of much consequence.

Worcester, May 31.—On Saturday 215 pockets were weighed. The prices of last week were scarcely maintained. The accounts from our plantation state, that the fly has in-

creased in some situations, while in others there is very little complaint; the plant grows rapidly. The duty of the kingdom has gone down from 140,000*l.* to 120,000*l.*

SMITHFIELD, Monday, June 5.

Per Stone of 8 pounds (alive).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	4	0	to	5 2
Mutton ...	4	0	—	4 8
Veal	5	0	—	5 6
Pork	4	8	—	5 4
Lamb	5	4	—	6 2
Beasts ...	1,840		Sheep ..	18,080
Calves ...	249		Pigs ...	150

NEWGATE, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 4
Mutton ...	3	4	—	4 2
Veal	3	8	—	5 8
Pork	3	8	—	5 6
Lamb	4	0	—	5 8

LEADENHALL, (same day.)

Per Stone of 8 pounds (dead).

	s.	d.	s.	d.
Beef	3	4	to	4 2
Mutton ...	3	8	—	4 2
Veal	3	8	—	5 4
Pork	4	0	—	5 4
Lamb	3	8	—	5 8

Price of Bread.—The price of the 4*lb.* Loaf is stated at 9*d.* by the full-priced Bakers.

POTATOES.

SPITALFIELDS, per Ton.

Ware	£4	0	to	6	0
Middlings.....	0	0	—	0	0
Chats	2	15	—	0	0
Common Red..	0	0	—	0	0

Onions, 0s. 0d.—0s. 0d. per bush.

BOROUGH, per Ton.

Ware	£4	10	to	5	10
Middlings.....	3	0	—	3	10
Chats	2	10	—	0	0
Common Red..	0	0	—	0	0

HAY and STRAW, per Load.

Smithfield.—Hay....70s. to 90s.

Straw...34s. to 38s.

Clover.. 80s. to 110s.

St. James's.—Hay.... 68s. to 105s.

Straw .. 30s. to 44s.

Clover ..90s. to 110s.

Whitechapel.—Hay....66s. to 92s.

Straw...38s. to 42s.

Clover..84s. to 110s.

COUNTRY CORN MARKETS.

By the QUARTER, excepting where otherwise named; from Wednesday to Saturday last, inclusive.

The Scotch Markets are the Returns of the Week before.

	Wheat.			Barley.			Oats.			Beans.			Pease.		
	s.	to	s. d.	s.	to	s. d.	s.	to	s. d.	s.	to	s. d.	s.	to	s. d.
Aylesbury	52	60	0	33	36	0	28	30	0	40	44	0	0	0	0
Banbury	54	59	0	28	32	0	26	31	0	40	44	0	0	0	0
Basingstoke	54	66	0	0	0	0	22	27	0	45	50	0	0	0	0
Bridport.....	54	56	0	30	0	0	20	22	0	46	52	0	0	0	0
Chelmsford.....	52	68	0	28	32	0	26	32	0	32	36	0	36	39	0
Derby	58	64	0	28	34	0	25	30	0	42	46	0	0	0	0
Devizes.....	58	62	0	28	35	0	26	32	0	40	52	0	0	0	0
Dorchester.....	52	62	0	25	29	0	22	27	0	42	48	0	0	0	0
Exeter.....	60	64	0	34	38	0	23	28	0	28	32	0	0	0	0
Eye	52	56	0	26	30	0	24	28	0	36	0	0	38	0	0
Guildford	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Henley	63	72	0	30	0	0	24	30	0	40	46	0	39	45	0
Horncastle.....	52	56	0	24	26	0	20	23	0	35	40	0	34	36	0
Hungerford.....	53	65	0	22	33	0	20	30	0	40	54	0	0	0	0
Lewes	56	58	0	0	0	0	23	25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Newbury	44	66	0	27	30	0	23	32	0	44	48	0	42	0	0
Northampton....	52	58	0	31	32	0	24	25	0	40	44	0	0	0	0
Nottingham	57	0	0	29	0	0	25	0	0	43	0	0	0	0	0
Reading	56	75	0	28	34	0	19	27	0	44	50	0	43	50	0
Stamford.....	45	59	0	29	30	0	23	25	0	33	38	6	0	0	0
Stowmarket	48	58	0	24	30	0	24	28	0	34	38	0	0	0	0
Swansea	64	0	0	28	0	0	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Truro	67	0	0	35	0	0	29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uxbridge	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Warminster.....	48	60	0	25	35	0	22	26	0	44	54	0	0	0	0
Winchester.....	57	0	0	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dalkeith*	27	32	0	19	23	0	17	21	0	17	19	0	16	18	0
Haddington*	25	31	0	18	24	0	15	21	6	16	20	0	16	20	0

* Dalkeith and Haddington are given by the boll.—The Scotch boll for Wheat, Rye, Pease, and Beans, is three per cent. more than 4 bushels. The boll of Barley and Oats, is about 6 bushels Winchester, or as 6 to 8 compared with the English quarter.

Liverpool, May 30.—Since Tuesday last the importations have again been pretty extensive, and that of Oats from Ireland somewhat considerable, the demand for which continued steady throughout the week, at about the prices last noted, as also for other descriptions of Grain, Flour, Meal, &c. This day's market was well attended, when foreign Wheat, now soon expected to be released from bond, was purchased at a small reduction in value, whilst a few parcels of new Irish Wheats were taken freely at an advance of 1d. per 70 lbs. The supply of Oats being large, this article experienced a decline of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to 1d. per 45 lbs. The crops of Grass and Spring Corn must now be suffering injury for many miles around this, from the extreme want of rain nearly throughout the present month, in the course of which but a few partial showers have fallen.

Imported into Liverpool from the 23d to 29th May, 1826, inclusive:—Wheat, 3,318; Barley, 81; Oats, 15,318; Rye, 67; Malt, 37; and Beans, 289 quarters. Flour, 248 sacks, per 280 lbs. Oatmeal, 1,823 packs, per 240 lbs. Flour, Europe, 248 barrels.

Guildford, June 3.—Wheat, new, for meal, 14l. to 18l. 10s. per load. Barley, 31s. to 36s.; Oats, 26s. to 31s.; Beans, 42s. to 49s.; and Pease, grey, 46s. to 50s. per quarter. Tares, 8s. 3d. per bushel.

Norwich, June 2.—We had a very large supply of Wheat at market to-day, more than equal to the demand. Red sold from 48s. to 56s.; White to 58s.; Barley but little offered for sale, prices 22s. to 27s.; Oats, 21s. to 28s.; Beans, 36s. to 39s.; Peas, 37s. to 40s. per quarter; and Flour, 43s. per sack.

Bristol, June 3.—The Corn Markets at this place continue extremely dull. The sales effected are few, at the prices below quoted:—Wheat from 4s. 9d. to 7s. 3d.; Barley, 3s. to 4s. 6d.; Oats, 2s. 3d. to 3s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.; Beans, 3s. to 5s. 6d.; and Malt, 4s. 6d. to 7s. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per bushel, Imperial. Flour, Seconds, 30s. to 45s. per bag.

Ipswich, June 3.—We had to-day a fair supply of all Corn, and prices were much as last week, as follow:—Wheat, 54s. to 61s.; Barley, 34s. to 32s.; and Beans, 38s. to 40s. per quarter.

Wakefield, June 2.—We have again a short supply of Wheat fresh up the river, but there is a slender attendance of buyers, and the market has been very dull at a decline of 1s. per quarter upon all descriptions, and very little demand for middling samples, the Millers generally preferring to wait until that in bond is liberated, half of which is expected to be released to-morrow, and the remainder in July. Beans are without variation.—Wheat, Red, 47s. to 61s.; White, 50s. to 61s. per 60 lbs.; Barley, 26s. to 28s.; fine, 29s. per quarter; Beans, old, 40s. to 43s.; new, 37s. to 40s. per 63 lbs.; Oats, Meal, new, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. to 13 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per stone; Shelling, new, 31s. to 33s.; and Malt, 32s. to 40s. per load. Flour, fine, 45s. to 47s. per sack of 280 lbs. Rapeseed, 14l. to 19l. per last.

Manchester, June 3.—Since our last there has been a pretty fair demand for leading articles in the trade, at our quotations of this day se'nnight; still the weight of business transacted has been heavy, as purchases have been chiefly confined to necessitous buyers. With the exception of Oats, which are 1d. per bushel lower, our quotations may be considered nominal.—Wheat, English, 58s. 3d. to 68s. 7d.; Irish, 53s. 8d. to 65s. 1d.; Foreign, 48s. to 60s. 7d.; Barley, 26s. 8d. to 30s.; Oats, Irish, 22s. 6d. to 30s. 2d.; Pease, 44s. to 56s. per quarter, Winchester; Beans, English, 46s. to 48s.; Irish, 44s. to 46s. per quarter, 63 lbs. per bushel; Malt, 34s. to 43s. per load of six imperial bushels; Flour, 38s. to 49s. per bag of 280 lbs.; Oatmeal, English, 32s. to 34s.; Irish, 26s. to 32s. per load of 240 lbs.; Bran, broad, 1s. 2d. to 1s. 3d. per 20 lbs.

COUNTRY CATTLE AND MEAT MARKETS, &c.

Normich Castle Meadow, June 3.—We had only a moderate supply of fat Cattle to this day's market, prices 7s. to 7s. 6d. per stone of 14lbs. sinking offal. The supply of all sorts of Store Stock was very great. Scots sold from 4s. to 4s. 6d. per stone when fat; Short Horns 5s. 6d. to 5s. 9d. per stone. Cows and Calves sell but slowly; Homebreds of all sorts far from brisk. Pigs in great plenty, and a slow sale.

Horncastle, June 3.—Beef, 7s. to 7s. 6d. per stone of 14 lbs.; Mutton, 6d. to 7d.; Lamb, 9d.; Pork, 6d.; and Veal, 7d. to 8d. per lb.

Manchester, May 31.—Cattle, which were in short supply, sold readily at last week's prices. The show of Sheep and Lambs being large, caused them to move off slowly at a little decline in price.

At *Morpeth Market*, on Wednesday, the 31st ult., there was a great supply of Cattle; and there being a good many buyers, fat sold readily, but inferior stood long. A short supply of Sheep and Lambs, which met with ready sale; prices much the same.—Beef, from 5s. 6d. to 6s. 3d.; Mutton, 7s. to 8s.; and Lamb, 8s. 6d. to 9s. 6d. per stone, sinking offal.

AVERAGE PRICE OF CORN, sold in the Maritime Counties of England and Wales, for the Week ended May 27, 1826.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
London*.....	60	5	27	4	23	2
Essex	60	0	28	10	26	4
Kent.....	60	1	30	6	25	8
Sussex.....	56	11	29	6	24	8
Suffolk	55	10	28	9	27	1
Cambridgeshire.....	51	0	27	6	22	4
Norfolk	52	7	25	4	25	0
Lincolnshire	55	2	25	9	21	6
Yorkshire	53	7	25	0	20	9
Durham	66	6	0	0	28	3
Northumberland	51	4	31	6	23	4
Cumberland	61	8	29	10	23	3
Westmoreland	63	1	37	0	24	1
Lancashire.....	61	9	0	0	24	6
Cheshire	60	10	44	1	25	11
Gloucestershire.....	58	8	32	8	26	3
Somersetshire	58	8	32	6	21	5
Monmouthshire.....	57	2	38	8	26	4
Devonshire.....	61	0	30	10	21	10
Coruwall.....	63	7	31	10	25	5
Dorsetshire	55	10	28	7	24	10
Hampshire	54	6	30	5	23	6
North Wales	62	3	32	11	21	6
South Wales	57	10	28	6	18	8

* The London Average is always that of the Week preceding.